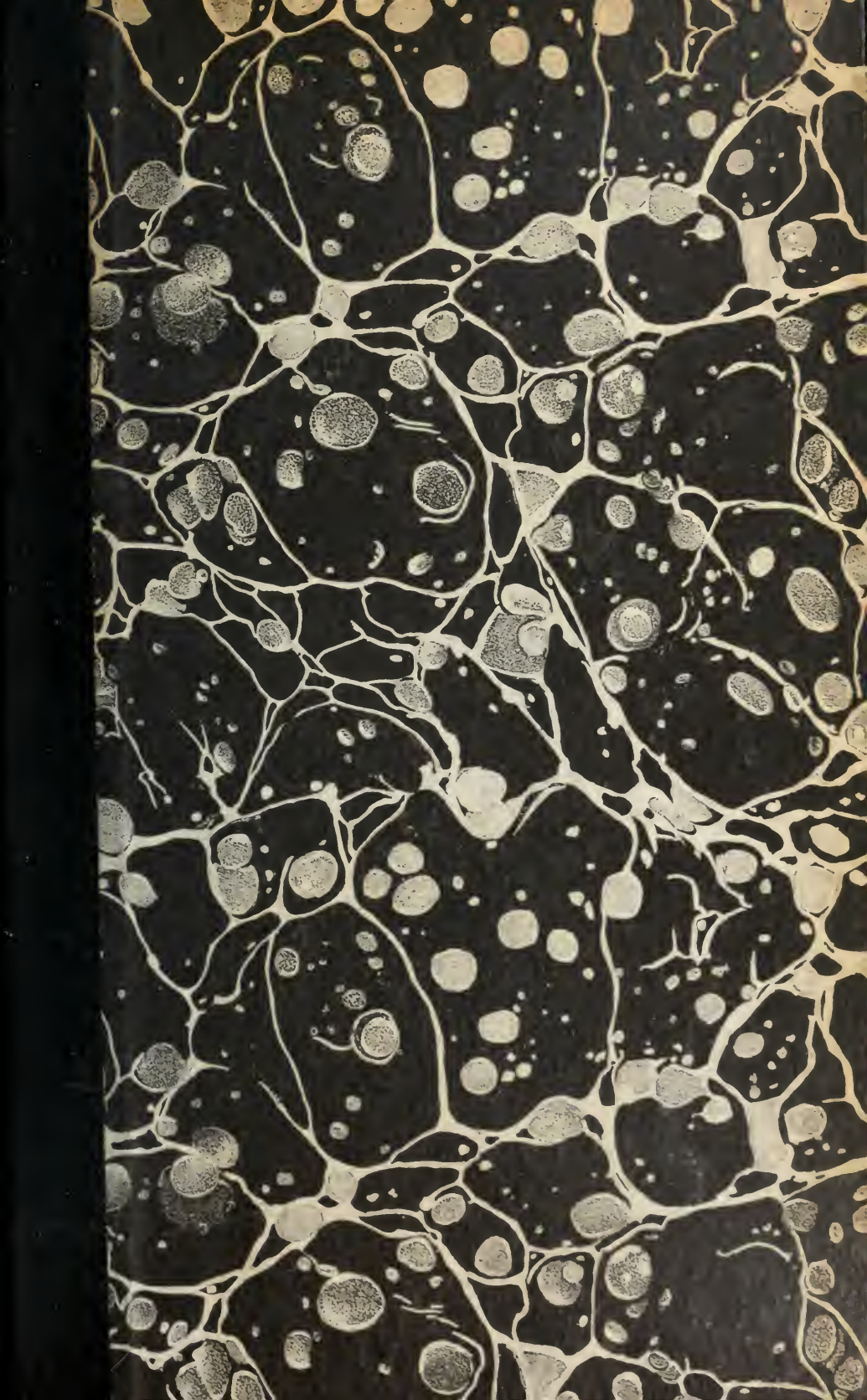

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16

MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS UPON THE PEACE,

And its CONSEQUENCES.

More especially on a just, as well as real and national Oeconomy, the Regard due to Subjects, who have served in Quality of Soldiers, Seamen, or Marines, the Necessity of providing for the Security of our Frontiers, and of rendering the Peace solid and lasting, by Steadiness in our Conduct at Home and Abroad; interspersed with seasonable Remarks upon hasty Reductions, Savings ill-placed, and the Folly of exciting Invasions, by leaving the weakest Part of our Dominions exposed.

Addressed to the more considerate and disinterested Part of the NATION.

Non paranda *nobis solùm, sed* fruenda SAPIENTIA *est.* CIC. 1. de Finib.

Non classes *non* legiones *perinde firma* imperii *munimenta, quam* numerum liberorum. TACIT. IV. Hist.

Non enim votis neque supplicis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, *prosperè* omnia *cedunt.* SALLUST. Catil.

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MISCELLANEOUS

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

PEACE, &c.

THE Right of making Peace and War is univerſally allowed to be the Prerogative of the Crown, as the Power of examining whether this Prerogative be properly or improperly exerciſed, remains in the King's hereditary great Council, and in the Repreſentative of the People. But notwithſtanding this, the whole Nation is ſo much intereſted in an Event of this Kind, and every Individual, who either has the Poſſeſſion, or the Means of acquiring Property, has ſo many Grounds to hope ſome Things, and to fear others,

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that it is no great Wonder that all Heads are buſied, and all Tongues are employed upon a Subject, which is, ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking, every body's Concern. Neither can it be ſo much as ſuſpected that this general Attention ſhould afford any Diſquiet, much leſs adminiſter any Diſlike to our Superiors, ſince they openly profeſs that it was for our Benefit the Peace was made; and ſince we have been very freely told by a Miniſterial Writer, that how wiſely or honeſtly ſoever the Negotiations that lead to it were conducted abroad, the Advantages which are to reſult from it here at home, muſt be owing to ourſelves.

For theſe Reaſons therefore, I have preſumed to throw together a few looſe Hints, and detached Thoughts that have occurred to me, upon a Variety of Heads relating to this great Affair; ſuppoſing that ſome of them may poſſibly have ſlipped the Attention of thoſe great Men, who have at preſent the Direction of our Publick Concerns; and who with the beſt Heads and honeſteſt Intentions in the World, may nevertheleſs overlook ſome Matters, and be unacquainted with others, as they are mere Men, and have conſequently no Title to Infallibility. If this ſhould be really

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the Caſe, what I offer may be uſeful even to them; if not, it may be ſatisfactory to others; at all Events it can do no Hurt, and the ſevereſt Cenſure that can be paſſed upon my Labours, will be, that they are trifling and impertinent. This I eſteem to be a ſmall Hazard run in endeavouring to do the Publick Service, and yet I think it is the only Hazard; for tho' there could be no true Liberty in a Country where every Man might ſet up for a Legiſlator, yet I think it is full as evident that there can be no Freedom in a Country, where any Man may not propoſe his Sentiments for the publick Good.

I take this to be a ſufficent Apology for adventuring to commit my Thoughts to the Preſs, and ſhall therefore without Ceremony proceed in my Obſervations. The firſt of theſe is, that it cannot but be highly agreeable to the People of theſe Nations in general, to ſee a Spirit of Oeconomy prevail ſo ſtrongly as it ſeems to do amongſt their Repreſentatives, ſince, except giving chearfully upon a juſt Occaſion, there cannot be a clearer Mark of true Patriotiſm, than ſaving as far as Juſtice and the Publick Safety will allow. A Principle, which whoever ſhould

go about openly to oppoſe or ſecretly to undermine, would diſcover himſelf thereby to be equally weak and wicked, in as much as publick Frugality tends to the Advantage even of private Perſons, and is a Meaſure which every Man ſhould be willing to promote, as every Man muſt reap a Benefit thereby. In ſhort, it is a Point of Politicks about which there can be little or no Diſpute; becauſe the only Danger that can be apprehended therefrom is puſhing it *too far*; ſince no body will deny, that improper Savings are by no Means the Marks of true and genuine Frugality.

We have all the Reaſon in the World to confeſs, that no Objection from this Remark can ariſe to the Reſolution taken of reducing our regular Forces here at Home, ſince there is nothing more natural, or indeed more reaſonable, than for a free People to be apprehenſive of a numerous ſtanding Army. It is doubly dangerous to their Liberties; firſt, as it eſtabliſhes an irreſiſtable Power in the Hands of their Governors at Home; and ſecondly, as it may prove too weak a Guard, in Reſpect to the Attempts that may be made from Abroad, if too much truſted to; becauſe in that Caſe it might contribute

tribute to weaken, at leaſt, if not to extinguiſh that martial Spirit which was the Security of our Anceſtors, and which ſo happily diſcovered itſelf upon a late Occaſion, when it was ſhewn with how much Eaſe the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, could ſuddenly raiſe a Force ſufficient to ſupport the legal Government, and to protect the invaluable Liberty of the *Britiſh* People. For theſe Reaſons, I ſay, this Reduction cannot but be univerſally acceptable, as it ſhews at once a Deſire of eaſing the People of an unneceſſary Expence, and the Confidence that is repoſed in them by their Governors for mutual Protection.

The more we conſider this, the greater Reaſon we ſhall have to expect, that every Article in theſe Reductions will be maturely weighed and decided; that as the Intention in making them is to ſave Expence, they will be made in ſuch a manner, as that the Kinds be perfectly proper, and the Amount of thoſe Savings as conſiderable as poſſible.

This naturally leads me to remark, that the Soldiers, Seamen, and Marines who are to be reduced, make likewiſe a Part of the Nation, and conſequently in that reſpect are entitled to the Legiſlature's

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Conſideration, by which I mean, that in making theſe Reductions, Care ought to be taken as well of thoſe who are to be reduced, as of the reſt of the Nation, for whoſe Sake they are reduced. There is a wide Difference between diſcharging Mercenaries, and disbanding Natives. The former are taken into Service on ſome particular Occaſion, upon Terms that are expreſly ſtipulated, and for a Time certain; when therefore the Occaſion is over, the Terms have been complied with, and the Time is expired, theſe Troops may be diſmiſſed without any farther Conſideration; becauſe they return to the Prince whoſe Subjects they are, and who therefore is the only proper Judge of the Manner of diſpoſing them, whether by a partial or total Reduction, as to him appears moſt reaſonable. But it is quite otherwiſe with regard to Natives, ſince when they are reduced, they remain as much Subjects as before, and with this farther Acceſſion of Merit, that they are Subjects who have done their Country eminent Service, and that at the manifeſt Peril of their Lives. It is therefore highly juſt and equitable to conſider the Seaſon in which ſuch Reductions are made, that Men may

may not be turned out to ſeek Employment when there is little or none to be had in the Depth of Winter; whereas ſix Weeks or two Months, which would make a trifling Difference in Expence, might afford them Leiſure to turn themſelves to recover their Fatigues, and to find with leſs Difficulty the means of future Subſiſtence; this might be ſtill farther facilitated by gradual Reductions, for while ſome Proportion is kept between the Number of Men wanted for Labour, and the Number of thoſe who want Buſineſs, there will be the leſs Danger of their getting into Work; and it may be conſequently ſuppoſed, that ſuch as are diſcharged from publick, may be immediately taken into private Service.

One might add to this, the Propriety and Expediency of granting ſome ſort of Reward or Aſſiſtance to thoſe by whom the Publick has been ſerved, and from whoſe Labours, it muſt be confeſſed, that great Benefits have accrued; but this being a Point of national Juſtice, belongs in a peculiar manner to the Legiſlature, and having been recommended with the higheſt Marks of paternal Tenderneſs in his Majeſty's excellent Speech from the

Throne, at the Opening of the preſent Seſſions, there ſeems to be no Need of inſiſting upon it farther; for the Reaſon of the Thing being ſufficiently evident, and having been enforced by the higheſt Authorities, it is impoſſible the Argument ſhould receive any Addition beyond the bare Repetition of theſe Circumſtances.

But if any ſhould object to this, as in theſe Times, what is there that can eſcape Objections? or rather, what is there that ſome Men will not have the Face to object? I ſay, if it ſhould be alledg'd, that how numerous ſoever this Reduction may be, it is however very trifling when compared with the Bulk of the Nation; and therefore in other Caſes, ſo in this, the Intereſts of a great many muſt take Place of the Intereſts of a very few; and as even the beſt Meaſures are liable to ſome Inconveniencies, ſo the mentioning theſe againſt any Meaſure for the general Good, ought to have very little or no Weight. I might anſwer, that our Conſtitution being built upon Principles incompatible with ſuch Notions, they can never become the Rule of Action to ſuch as have the Direction of our Affairs; but as this would be avoiding

ing rather than anſwering the Objection, it would be doing it much more Honour than it deſerves. Theſe Sort of Refinements paſs well enough in Countries where the People are compelled to ſubmit to arbitrary Power, and afford a ſpecious Pretence for doing what even the moſt arbitrary Power dares not avow; but at the Bottom it will appear to be a mere Fallacy, by which Stateſmen without Bowels impoſe upon a Populace without Brains, and ſo perſuade one Part of the People to believe, that their Intereſt and Welfare can be conſulted in ſacrificing another Part, which, however, is a Sophiſm not to be endured in a free Nation.

The Wealth as well as the Strength of every Nation, and more eſpecially of every free Nation, conſiſts in the Number of the People; and therefore to ſay, that the Bulk of the Nation can be any Gainers by the Loſs of a certain Number, be it what it will, of ſtrong and able Men, is a flat Abſurdity. This will more clearly appear if we conſider, that even in the loweſt and meaneſt kind of Labour, an able Man can earn at leaſt ten Pounds a Year, and if you value ſuch a Life but at ſeven Years Purchaſe, it is plain, that if a thouſand ſuch Men be

loſt, the Nation loſes ſeventy thouſand Pounds. It is much the ſame Thing to the Community which ever Way this Loſs happens, whether by the Diſtreſs, Sickneſs, and Death of Individuals, for want of immediate Employment, by their betaking themſelves firſt through Neceſſity to Beggary, and then keeping to it from a Habit of Idleneſs, or by quitting their Country, and ſeeking Service or Employment any where elſe. I I ſay, which ever Way the Loſs happens, it varies the Value of it very little; and therefore it becomes a Point of very great Conſequence to the Nation, that ſuch a Loſs as this ſhould be prevented, if by the Precautions before-mentioned, it can be done at a very ſmall Expence, more eſpecially when we reflect, that let this Expence be more or leſs, it is nominal only; becauſe the Money remaining ſtill amongſt ourſelves, the Nation in Fact loſes nothing by it; whereas the Loſs received by the taking away in any manner ſuch a Number of able Hands, is both real and irrecoverable. Add to this, that the Computation before made, can be applied only to Soldiers and Marines; for the Value of a Seaman's Labour, I mean in reſpect to the Nation,

is at leaſt twice or thrice as great. Theſe are Things that do not immediately occur to every Man's Mind, but when mentioned and truly ſtated, every Man may conceive the Truth, and conſequently judge of the Weight they ought to have.

We may likewiſe obſerve, that Precautions like thoſe that have been ſuggeſted, have upon this very Occaſion been actually taken in other Countries, where refined Politicks are thought to be well underſtood. In *France*, great Care was taken to march back every Battalion of their Militia into the Province where it was raiſed, that by disbanding them there, the People might more eaſily find Employment; and yet I think no body can ſuſpect, that the Value of an able Man's Labour is greater in that Kingdom than in this. We have been likewiſe told, that the *French* have liſted, even ſince their Reductions began, conſiderable Numbers of our Countrymen into their Land and Sea Service; now with whatever View this is done, there can be no Queſtion that it would be as well worth our while to keep them, as it can be theirs to employ them in either Way. The *Spaniards* have publiſhed general Pardons

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to all their Deſerters, not with a View of recruiting, or even of compleating their Corps, but that the Terror of Puniſhment may not fright theſe People from returning Home. We learn that the Empreſs Queen of *Hungary* has taken the like Method, and that her Officers were obliged to compleat their Companies before Winter-Quarters were aſſigned them in her Hereditary Countries. The King of *Pruſſia* practiſes the like Method, no doubt from the ſame Principle, *viz.* that by gradual Reductions at ſeaſonable Diſtances, a conſiderable Number of uſeful Subjects may be obtained. By this Expedient, and by others of a like Nature, the Waſtes of War will in thoſe Countries be in ſome Meaſure repaired; and tho' this may be attended with a preſent Expence, yet if this is ſucceeded by future Advantages, we may ſafely affirm that it is true Oeconomy upon the whole; neither will it diminiſh the Force of this Reaſoning, if it ſhould be ſaid, that ſuch a Policy is peculiarly adapted to Countries that are but indifferently peopled, and where on that Account it is always a Thing of Conſequence to increaſe the Number of Hands; for the Queſtion may be aſked, whether

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Fertility of Soil, a great Number of Manufactures, vaſt Plantations and an Extenſive Trade, will not alſo require a due Proportion of Care for obtaining and preſerving able Men, ſince their Labour muſt be moſt valuable in that Country where they can be employed to the greateſt Advantage? Or in other Words, in that Country in which there are the greateſt Improvements. Upon this Principle, one may venture to affirm, without Danger of being caught in a Miſtake, that there is no Country in *Europe*, where, if the Laws for promoting Induſtry were as ſteadily executed as they are wiſely contrived, the Labour of able Hands might turn more to the Benefit of the Publick than in *Great Britain*.

Some indeed may think this contradicted, by obſerving the Number of idle People, Vagabonds, and Beggars that are amongſt us, and may be led to imagine that it is a Point of Policy not to increaſe their Number. So in one Senſe no doubt it is; but if due Care were taken to enforce our Laws, there are good Grounds to believe that all, or moſt of theſe People might be put into Methods of maintaining themſelves comfortably, and of contributing to encreaſe the Wealth of the Society. An Attempt to eſtabliſh

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ſuch a Method would be a real Act of Oeconomy, and contribute infinitely more to the Benefit of the Nation than trifling and temporary Sayings. This muſt be done by baniſhing and ſuppreſſing Luxury, reviving the old Spirit of Diligence and Application, and repreſſing the new one of purſuing Pleaſure, as if that was the only Buſineſs of Life worth minding. Nor ought this to be looked upon as a beaten Topick of Satyr, or an Obſervation ſo obvious as to deſerve little Notice; ſince if we regard it much longer in this Light, we ſhall find the Diſeaſe grow too ſtrong, not only for Phyſicians, but for Phyſick. It is a downright Dream to fancy, that by the ſmall Abatements we are able to make in our Expences, the People of this Nation may continue at their preſent Rate of Living without any Hazard of Ruin; for that is not to be done by any ſuch ſlender Expedient. If we will live high, and not leave our Poſterity Beggars, other Means muſt be employed; and inſtead of looking upon it as a Piece of Policy to get rid of able Hands, when the Time for which they immediately ſerved is over, we muſt ſtudy to encreaſe and to employ them. This may do the Buſineſs; for to this

we owe what has been done already, and if we can but effect it, our Vagabonds and Beggars will diſappear, and private Fortunes and publick Revenues riſe as they ought to do, that is, together.

At firſt Sight, perhaps, this may ſeem a Matter that requires much Conſideration, and when found not to be made evident to every Underſtanding without a long and fatiguing Train of Arguments. But the contrary may be eaſily ſhewn, and that in a Manner ſo plain and perſpicuous, as to admit of no Reply. I ſhall only obſerve, that a very great Proportion of our Manufactures are exported to, and that conſequently a very large Share of our Commerce ariſes from, our Plantations in *America*. It is true, that from the very ſtating of this Fact there ariſes a convincing Proof, that we have a vaſt Number of People there already, but let it be at the ſame time conſidered, what prodigious Benefits reſult from their being in thoſe Countries to thoſe that remain here at home; what Quantities of our Goods they conſume, what a Multitude of Hands they employ, what a Quantity of Shipping this renders neceſſary, and what Safety, what Glory, what Riches we derive from our Navy? Let it be like-

wiſe remembered, that notwithſtanding all this, there are in ſome of theſe Plantations very large Quantities, not of barren, but of unimproved Lands, which in the Hands of induſtrious People might turn to as great, or greater Account, than any that have been yet ſettled. This, if it could be brought about, would not only take away all Excuſes for Idleneſs, but all Poſſibility of complaining for Want of Employment; it would beget new Demands for the Produce of this Iſland, raiſe new Trades, increaſe our Shipping, and conſequently enlarge the Capital of the Nation, make our annual Income larger, and ſo of neceſſity heighten the Revenue, without fatiguing the Heads of our Projectors for the inventing new Taxes.

We may boldly venture to aſſert, and not to ſuppoſe, this, becauſe from the Experience we have had in paſt Times, the Certainty of this Method is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed; we know not only that it will do, but how and what it will do. It is not therefore to be ranked among the Number of ſpecious and plauſible Propoſals for procuring future Benefits, but may be preſcribed as a ſafe and effectual Remedy for that Diſeaſe which will otherwiſe prey upon our Vitals. A Remedy

medy that Providence has put into our Hands, and which there is nothing wanting but Attention and Application, to make it anſwer that End which is ſo much to be deſired. Tryals we have had, and thoſe Tryals have not only fulfilled, but have exceeded Expectation. In ſhort, it is our having this Remedy that is the great Bleſſing, the ſupreme Felicity of this Iſland; and therefore not to be ingrateful to Providence, or wanting to ourſelves, we ought to make uſe of it. We ſhould conſider in what Manner we ſhould be affected, if this was as much in the Power of our Neighbours as it is in ours, and what melancholy Apprehenſions would ariſe if this ſhould ever happen. Let us then ſeize this happy Opportunity, let us make Uſe of this great and valuable Prerogative, and thereby not only enrich and aggrandize ourſelves, and our immediate Poſterity, but lay the Foundation of our Grandeur ſo deep and ſo ſure, as that there may be no Danger of the Superſtructure's being overturned in ſucceeding Ages. The Deſign is great and glorious, and which is ſtill more, it is practicable; nay, it not only may be done, but may be done with Facility.

It may be demanded, whether upon this Plan it will be expected, that the Legiſlature ſhould provide for the tranſporting to our Colonies, ſubſiſting in their Paſſage, and putting in a Condition to ſettle when arrived there, ſuch Perſons as are thrown out of Service either by Sea or Land, in conſequence of the Peace lately concluded. No private Perſon has a Right to preſcribe, or inſiſt upon any ſuch Thing; but perhaps if a Man ſhould ſay that it is practicable, reaſonable, and what would turn to the general Service of the Nation, he might not find it a very difficult Taſk to make every Point of this good. We very well know, in Conjunctures like the preſent, Multitudes of *Britiſh* Subjects will retire elſewhere, and either enter into the Service, or ſettle in the Dominions of Foreign Princes and States; the reducing them to a Condition which makes this neceſſary for them, is, without doubt, a tacit Permiſſion to take ſuch a Step. But if a Propoſal was made to theſe People, to retire to one of our Colonies, where the Climate and Soil are temperate and pleaſant, where they might live under the ſame happy Conſtitution as at home, and this too amongſt their Countrymen; we can hardly doubt that they would

would accept it, more eſpecially if ſuch Encouragements were given them as would coſt the Publick very little, and would notwithſtanding be very conſiderable to them. The Diſtreſs and Diſlike conſiſts in quitting their native Country; but when *Britiſh* Subjects are obliged to get over theſe, there would be aſſuredly no great Difficulty found in perſuading them to make Choice of Places, which in reality are only the diſtant Parts of their own Country, rather than ſubmit to foreign Laws, and paſs the Remainder of their Days amongſt Strangers. At leaſt it would be but fit to make the Trial, becauſe ſo many as accepted ſuch an Offer would be ſaved to the Community, and the Produce of their Labours ſtill preſerved to theſe Kingdoms. Such a Proceeding would be but juſt and equitable in itſelf, becauſe many of theſe have been forced into the publick Service; and after hazarding their Lives, waſting their Strength, and running variety of Hazards in that Service, it ſeems but a moderate Return to offer them, tho' it ſhould be attended with ſome immediate Expence, a tolerable Eſtabliſhment when their Service is no longer wanted; becauſe it may be preſumed, if they had not been ſo forced,

forced, they might have obtained as good, or a better, for themſelves; ſuch as have freely choſe either the Land or Sea Service, when the Circumſtances of their Country required it, derive from thence a Plea of Merit, that may well entitle them to ſuch an Offer. But as the Benefit of Individuals ought to be conſidered in ſuch a Light, as that it may coincide with the publick Advantage; the Diſpoſing in this Manner of ſuch as are thrown out of Bread by a neceſſary Reduction, becomes the more reaſonable, becauſes it is impoſſible they ſhould reap any Good from it, without doing more Good to Society than what they require can amount to. So that on the whole, this would be no extravagant or ill-grounded Expectation, in caſe any Patriot ſhould advance on their Behalf, that ſuch a Thing is at this Time really expected.

But leaving theſe Matters to the free and impartial Conſideration of thoſe who are the only natural and proper Judges, let us proceed to obſerve, that this is not the only Method that may be employed, either for procuring a Subſiſtence to ſuch Perſons, or the Accompliſhment of that great and important Point to the Nation in general, of obtaining an Acceſſion

ceſſion of Inhabitants ſufficient to ſettle and improve thoſe vaſt Tracts of Country, of which we are in Poſſeſſion in *America*. There are proper Seaſons for all Things, and Works of the greateſt Conſequence are performed with more or leſs Difficulty, in Proportion as they are undertaken, either in a proper or an improper Seaſon. There are Times when Men abound, as well as when they are ſcarce, that is to ſay, when there are Numbers in Neceſſity and out of Employment, who would thankfully and cheerfully embrace any Opportunity offered them, of procuring a comfortable Subſiſtence for themſelves and their Families by their own Labour, in Countries happily ſituated, governed by juſt and equal Laws, and where they might be free from any Reſtraint in Matters of Conſcience. The preſent may be juſtly ſtiled ſuch a Seaſon; there are already Multitudes of Proteſtants, and the Circumſtances of *Europe* afford us Grounds to believe there will be yet many more, in ſuch Circumſtances, that any Invitation of this kind to tranſport themſelves, their Families, and Effects, to Colonies where they might meet with ſuch a Proviſion, will be regarded as the moſt favourable

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Diſpenſations of Providence. Such an Occaſion therefore ought not to be overlooked by us, but ought rather to be conſidered in the very ſame Light, ſince the Advantage would be reciprocal at leaſt, and in the Space of a very few Years we ſhould feel the happy Effects, reſulting from ſo wiſe and worthy a Policy, from ſo great and ſo glorious an Act of Compaſſion. Thoſe that are now vaſt howling Wilderneſſes, overgrown with Wood, and Harbours only for wild Beaſts, would become rich and fruitful Countries, full of ſtout and loyal Subjects, conſtantly adding to the Wealth of this their Mother and protecting Country, and contributing to her Strength, her Grandeur, and her Proſperity.

We know already from Experience, that this Method of peopling our Colonies, more eſpecially thoſe on the Continent, may be purſued with the greateſt Safety, and with the moſt probable Expectations of Succeſs. We know that there are not better Subjects, more frugal, more laborious, or more induſtrious People in *America*, than ſuch Foreigners as have been either invited over, have retired to, or have otherwiſe ſettled in our Plantations; which leaves not the leaſt

leaſt room to doubt that others would follow their Steps, and endeavour to deſerve our Favour and Protection, by behaving in the like manner. Nor does it require any great Strength of Thinking, or Depth of Penetration to perceive, that ſuch an Acquiſition of Subjects Abroad, would have a gradual Influence upon our People here at Home. Their Cloaths, the Inſtruments neceſſary for clearing and cultivating their Plantations, all the Conveniencies, and many of the Neceſſaries of Life, they muſt, when ſettled in thoſe Plantations, derive from hence; this, in conſequence of being a new Demand, would raiſe the Value of our native Commodities, revive and quicken our Manufactures, afford a Vent for our *Eaſt-India* Goods, and whatever elſe is the Product of our foreign Trade, enable us to extend and carry it on to greater Advantage, and of Courſe employ, enrich, and aggrandize our People. To be more fully ſatisfied of this, we need only enquire into the State of Things in this Kingdom before we had any Plantations, into the State of our Trade, the Number of our People, the Value of our Lands, and compare the Reſult of thoſe Enquiries with the Situation that Things are in

now. To become the better Maſters of this Point, we may ſingle out any of the Colonies, more eſpecially of thoſe that are more immediately the Subject of this Advice, and learn what have been the Effects of their becoming better peopled, and better cultivated; which may be eaſily done, if we only demand from experienced Perſons, what Number of Ships were in the Trade between us and them fifty Years ago, and what are employed in the ſame Trade now. If upon ſuch an Examination we find, as I dare aſſert we ſhall, that they are not greatly only, but prodigiouſly encreaſed, we muſt conclude of Courſe, that the Profit ariſing to this Nation from thoſe Plantations, muſt have augmented in the ſame Proportion. This is a Way in which we cannot be deceived, our own Reaſon will be our Guide, and the Teſtimonies of Men who are above Suſpicion, will afford us indiſputable Evidence.

It is not impoſſible, but to ſome well-meaning People, who are not accuſtomed to think much of theſe Matters, one Objection may ariſe, and methinks it is the only Objection that can ariſe, which may obſtruct their feeling the full Weight of this Reaſoning; and therefore it may be

be proper firſt to ſtate, and then to obviate it. We may at firſt Sight imagine, that as great Part of the Trade between theſe Nations and their Colonies, conſiſts in bartering the Goods and Manufactures of *Europe* for the Produce of *America*, this cannot be properly ſaid to enrich us; but when we ſeriouſly examine this, we ſhall find that the Objection is founded rather in Words than in Fact. For either we bring Home from thoſe Colonies Goods that we muſt otherwiſe purchaſe from our Neighbours; and then the Advantage is apparent, ſince by trading with our own Subjects, whereever the Profit lies it muſt lie on our Side: or we export a certain Proportion of the Returns from our Plantations, over and above our Home Conſumption, and receive for them what we muſt otherwiſe have paid for either in Money or in Money's worth; and all that is thus acquired is evidently clear Gains. Beſides all this, whatever Wealth our Subjects in the Plantations acquire, centers here; ſo that while Induſtry is encouraged by the mutual Intercourſe of *Britiſh* Subjects in *Europe* and *America*, they muſt conſequently thrive, and whatever is advantageous to the one, will ſooner or

later, either in the Means or in the End, become beneficial to the other.

Two plain and eaſy Inſtances will ſet this Matter beyond the Reach of Doubt, or the Power of Controverſy. We know that Timber, Iron, and naval Stores, (and if I did not ſtudy Brevity I might add ſome other Things) are abſolutely neceſſary, and what we cannot be without; and that preſuming upon this, a certain Northern Nation has by Degrees brought us into ſuch a Situation, that we can purchaſe theſe only for ready Money; and it is eaſy to ſee, that the Exportation of this is a very great Hardſhip and Inconvenience. Now there are ſome of our own Plantations, from whence, with a little Encouragement, all theſe Things without Exception may be had upon reaſonable Terms; and if they were better peopled, that is to ſay, if the Number of Hands in thoſe Plantations were increaſed, we might have them upon ſtill eaſier Terms; and inſtead of Gold and Silver, pay for them in Goods and Manufactures, that is, in the Product of our People's Labour at Home; which conſequently would give Subſiſtence to a greater Number of Hands here, perhaps to as many as may want

Bread

Bread in Conſequence of the preſent Reduction. On the other Hand, the *Spaniards* bring only Treaſure and very rich Goods from the vaſt Dominions they have in *America*; but are they the more wealthy, the more potent, or the more happy for this? quite the contrary. There is hardly a Country in *Europe* more thinly peopled than *Spain*, where the common People fare harder, or where there is leſs Appearance of Plenty. Their Marine is in ſo low a Condition, that the *Barbary* Pirates inſult their very Coaſts; and the whole Tunnage of the Veſſels employed in their Trade to *America*, is not equal to that of the Ships employed between *Great-Britain* and one of her Colonies. In the *Indies* again, they are weak to the laſt Degree, their People are continually waſting, and of all the Treaſure that they ſend into *Europe*, the far greateſt Part comes to us, the *French*, and the *Dutch*, for the Commodities and Manufactures that we furniſh them withall to exchange for theſe Treaſures. After this, let any Man deny if he can, that we are infinitely the better for our Colonies producing what they do, and that Providence in this, as well as in all other Caſes, has diſpoſed Things much more

more advantageouſly for us, than we ſhould have done for ourſelves; and all it requires in Return is, that we will take the Pains to poſſeſs them, and be thankful.

As Improvements of this Kind are very far from being airy or impracticable, ſo they are laſting and increaſing, and not of a fleeting or fluctuating Nature; if we do our Part by them, there is no Fear that they will continue to do their Part by us, which is another Thing that deſerves our Obſervation. It may help us to form ſome Notion of the Importance of new Settlements, if we conſider that of our new Conqueſt; I mean that of the Iſland of *Cape Breton*. I will not pretend to revive the Calculations made at the Time when it firſt came into our Hands; that would be an invidious and offenſive Taſk, and quite beſide the Compaſs of my Deſign, which is not to throw Reflections, but to hint ſome Things that may be uſeful. The Method I ſhall take, will be quite of another Nature; I ſhall obſerve, that at the Peace of *Utrecht* the *French* ran the Hazard of overturning the whole Negotiation, rather than part with that Iſland; and notwithſtanding our Acquiſitions, which were conſiderable

conſiderable in this Quarter of the World; it was charged upon the Negotiators of that Treaty, that in leaving *Cape Breton* to the *French*, (for the Doctrine then was, that it belonged to this Crown of ancient Right) they had done the ſame Injury to the Nation as if they had given away a Mine of Gold. Such were the Sentiments of both Nations at the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Again, at the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the Iſland of *Cape Breton* was of ſuch Conſequence, that to get it out of our Hands, the *French* were content to reſtore the *Low Countries*, without inſiſting upon their firſt Demand of *Luxemburgh*; and becauſe this Reſtitution could not be made in ſo prompt a Manner as that of their Conqueſts in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, they expected Hoſtages for the Performance of the Article which ſtipulated this Reſtitution. If theſe Inſtances of the Value ſet upon this Iſland by both Nations, when in and out of the Poſſeſſion of each of them, are not allowed to be ſufficient to prove the Conſequence of it, we muſt be at a Loſs to know what Arguments are of Weight in Politicks; and if any are ſo hardy after this, as to deny its great Importance, it will be a vain Thing to endeavour their

Conviction.

Conviction. As for the impartial and diſintereſted Part of Mankind, they cannot fail of ſeeing it in a true Light, and of concluding from thence, that it was indeed a great and glorious Acquiſition in time of War, and that it was a Thing that ſtood both us and our Allies in very great Stead, when it was thought neceſſary, or at leaſt expedient, to make Peace.

If therefore this ſmall Iſland appears to have been of ſo very great Importance, what Reaſon have we to entertain the leaſt Doubt, that the improving all the waſte Parts of thoſe extenſive Countries which we poſſeſs in that Neighbourhood, would not turn to as great or greater Account? Or why, being once ſatisfied of this, ſhould we heſitate or delay attempting ſuch Improvements? Theſe are Acquiſitions that may be made in a Time of Peace, when the Advantages that are to be derived from them will riſe, and will be felt while they are making; and, which is ſtill a Thing of greater Conſequence, will at the ſame Time put it out of the Power of any Enemies to attempt, or at leaſt to effect ought to our Prejudice, whenever War ſhall break out again. We need not doubt, that as ſoon as *France* is in Poſ-

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ſeſſion again of this valuable Iſland, for which ſhe has paid ſo high a Price, and for which ſhe has manifeſted ſo great a Concern, ſhe will loſe no Time in reſtoring, refortifying, and repeopling it, ſo as to make it repay all that it has coſt her; and ſhall we be leſs aſſiduous, leſs attentive, to make the moſt of thoſe Countries that are ours by an indiſputed Right, from which we already draw ſuch vaſt Advantages, and from which it is notwithſtanding certain, that we may ſtill draw much greater? To what Purpoſe do we boaſt of our being a Maritime Power, what avails the Superiority of our Naval Force, or what are we the better for that vaſt Increaſe of Shipping, to which this Part of the World in particular has ſo much contributed, if our Indolence, our Inattention, our Want of publick Spirit, can prevent us from reaping ſuch Advantages as theſe that offer themſelves to our View, and our Poſſeſſion? That invite, that call upon us to exert our Skill, as our Anceſtors did in paſt Times, to make ourſelves great and powerful; not by incroaching upon our Neighbours, or oppreſſing Strangers, but by making a right Uſe of our own, by applying our Thoughts to ſettle and improve Places

that are commodious by Situation, and capable of furniſhing us with Commodities of the greateſt Uſe; with the Want of which we are leaſt able to diſpenſe, and for the Purchaſe of which, we annually ſend vaſt Quantities of Money to Strangers; who, inſtead of conſidering us as their Friends and Benefactors, look upon us rather in the Light of Dependents, and afford us not the ſmalleſt Token either of Favour or Reſpect. It may be, if at length we ſhould take this ſalutary Step, and convince them that their Countries produce nothing which we could not have from our own, they would alter their Conduct; or at leaſt fear a People, whom no Benefits, no Kindneſſes, (for they have been indebted for them to us of all Sorts) could ever yet teach them either Gratitude, or Wiſdom enough to love. At leaſt, we ſhould convince them of their Miſtake, and ſet all the reſt of *Europe* too right in this Point; by ſhewing them that *Great Britain*, when her Councils are rightly directed, need depend for Timber and Naval Stores on no other Countries in the World, but what are in her own Poſſeſſion. This ſurely is a Point of too great Importance, to be either ſlighted, or neglected.

We

We have heard it insinuated, and perhaps not altogether without Foundation, that the Inhabitants of those Colonies that were most instrumental in making the Conquest of Cape *Breton*, have expressed some Dissatisfaction at seeing it given up; neither, if we judge calmly or impartially, can we blame them very highly if they did. But we may easily banish such Notions, retrieve our Credit with them, and revive that sincere Veneration, which they are always by Nature and Duty, as well as by Interest, ready to pay to their Mother-Country, by shewing an early Concern for their Welfare, now the Peace is made. It is very well known how much they have these Improvements at Heart, and this Disposition of theirs is most certainly that, which we ought to cherish and support. There is no question that it would turn to their Advantage, but at the same time it would turn much more to ours; and amongst many other Benefits that would result from it, nothing could contribute so much as this, to fix the perpetual Dependence of those Colonies upon *Great Britain*. At the same time it would increase our Strength where we want it most, that is, in one of our

Frontiers: And as by this Method we ſhould not only render our People more numerous, but at the ſame time vaſtly increaſe our Shipping in thoſe Parts; this would have a manifeſt Tendency to heighten our Power throughout all *America*, becauſe it would enable us to convey Succour from the Parts in which we are ſtrongeſt, to thoſe in which, from the Nature of our Settlements, we are at preſent, and are ſtill likely to continue weakeſt. This too is a Point of the utmoſt Conſequence, which ought to be always uppermoſt in our Thoughts, and which we ſhould ever ſtudy to promote; ſince as the Wealth we draw from our Plantations is a Matter of prodigious Benefit to us, ſo it is and ever will be the great Object of Envy to other Nations, more eſpecially to ſuch as have Settlements in that Part of the World as well as we, and who for that very Reaſon will be always upon the Watch, to take Advantage of any Negligence of which we are guilty, and profit by any Miſtakes into which we may fall. At preſent, indeed, we have a very large Extent of Country, and many of our Colonies are flouriſhing and in great Power; but notwithſtanding this, there are others of which this

cannot

cannot be ſaid, and yet the Preſervation of thoſe Colonies is of the utmoſt Conſequence to the whole.

At the breaking out of the War, we made a Settlement upon the Iſland of *Ratan*, the Situation of which was very commodious, in reſpect to military Operations in Time of War, and of Commerce in Time of Peace. It is ſaid of late, it may be proper to relinquiſh that Settlement, and to withdraw the People that are upon it. Poſſible it may be ſo; but ſurely this will be very well weighed before it is done; and it will not be thought a Point of true Oeconomy, to decline making Satisfaction to thoſe who thus abandon their Properties which they acquired by our Countenance, and poſſeſſed under our Protection. We may eaſily conceive, without entring into the particular Circumſtances relating to that Place, how laborious and difficult a Thing it is to lay the Foundations for future Improvements, and to bring into tolerable Order the firſt Plantations in a waſte and deſert Country, where thoſe who have the Courage to attempt it, muſt overcome all the Obſtacles of Soil and Climate, by Dint of conſtant and indefatigable Perſeverance; and this with infinite

finite Hazard to their Health and Lives, which thoſe who ſucceed them will eſcape; and after this is done, and theſe bold and adventurous People begin to reap the Advantage of their heroic Conſtancy, and to behold the Fruits of their Induſtry ſmiling on every Side; what can there be more ſenſible, more cruelly affecting, than to oblige them in ſuch Circumſtances to withdraw? It is eaſy at this Diſtance to find plauſible Pretences for treating this as a Thing neceſſary, and Orders may be iſſued in Conſequence of thoſe Pretences, without feeling any of thoſe Pangs that muſt naturally wring the Souls of ſuch as are to obey them. People who have placed their Hopes, and what is there more reaſonable, than that they ſhould place their Hopes in the Enjoyment of what with inexpreſſible Peril, and a Fatigue not to be deſcribed, they have at laſt in ſome meaſure brought to bear? To ſtrip ſuch Men at once of the little Property they have ſo dearly bought, and with ſo many Hardſhips acquired, is what Humanity forbids, and what Juſtice will prohibit, without giving them an ample Recompence, or at leaſt a ſuitble Equivalent in ſome of our Colonies, where the ſame induſtrious Spirit may

be

be employed, without Fear of ſuch another cruel Reverſe of Fortune, without the Heart-breaking Apprehenſions of being one Day obliged to abandon the Work of their Hands, and the Delight of their Souls. Reputation is a Jewel to Nations as well as Merchants, and no Recompence can be given to either for the Loſs of that. If Men have ſtaked their all in Confidence of Protection and Support; if for a Time they have received ſuch Protection, and have had Aſſurances given them of its Continuance; can it be withdrawn without their Conſent, and the Reputation of thoſe who for a Time beſtowed it, remain ſafe and unhurt? No certainly, Men will never rely a ſecond Time in Matters that ſo nearly concern them for Protection, on thoſe who have deceived them once. They will deſert thoſe Settlements and that Nation for ever, and will ſeek that Security, which muſt give Spirit to freſh Labours, under ſome other Power.

But in reſpect to the Iſland juſt mentioned, this certainly will not be the Caſe. Why ſhould we think of withdrawing from, or quitting any Country which we have a Right to keep, when there is no apparent, no expreſs Stipulation

tion that we ſhould deſert it? What Example has been ſet us on the other Side, what controverted Iſlands have been ſlighted or deſerted by other Nations, or what Certainty have we, that this Precedent, if we ſhould make it, will be followed? Or without ſucha Certainty, without ſo much as any Aſſurances, why ſhould ſuch a Precedent be made? If the Poſſeſſion of that Place be of no Conſequence, why did we take Poſſeſſion? if it be, why ſhould we leave it without an Equivalent? Will doing and undoing, making a Point of a Thing one Day, and giving it up the next, ſparing no Pains or Coſt for ſome Years, and then throwing all away, juſt as the Fruits of them appear, raiſe our Credit in that Part of the World, where it imports us ſo much that our Power ſhould be revered, and our Steadineſs rely'd on? Will not Friends and Enemies deſcant upon this Conduct, and endeavour to penetrate into its Motives? Is it poſſible they ſhould aſcribe it to Oeconomy, or believe that the ſaving a ſmall Expence would influence thoſe who have hazarded much greater, where far leſs Advantages were in View? To what then can they aſcribe it? Will it be to the Concluſion

cluſion of the Peace, when there is no Article therein by which this is required? Will they aſcribe it to Complaiſance, when they are ſatisfied that this can have no good Effect, when they ſee no other Nation acting upon this Principle, or endeavouring to ſhew their good Breeding to us in the ſame way? There may indeed be ſecret Reaſons, but of theſe neither we nor they can judge, while they continue ſecret; and therefore I preſume, that whenever this Iſland is abandoned, thoſe Reaſons and that News will reach the publick Ear at the ſame Time. As for the Rumours already ſpread, they muſt be falſe and groundleſs, becauſe they are idle and injurious, in the Sentiments of all proper Judges.

There are many ſtrong Reaſons why we ought to meditate very carefully upon theſe Points, and not upon ſome People's Fancies, that a little Money may be ſaved here; or the Information of mercenary and ſelf-intereſted People, that there is no need of Forts or Forces there; uncover our Frontiers, and leave that great Empire we poſſeſs in the New World a Prey to ſuch as have a due Attention to their own Affairs, and are ready to pick up and keep what others, for want of

knowing its Value, ſlight and deſpiſe. We have many Countries in thoſe Parts, which have been long in our Poſſeſſion, but to which other Nations have kept up a Claim, from a Foreſight, perhaps, that in ſome or other of our whimſical Humours, we may be content to throw them away, or leave the People that are in them to the Mercy of their next Neighbours. But this will not ſuddenly be the Caſe: Iſlands and Countries are not of ſo ſmall Conſequence, as to be let go, without ſo much as an Enquiry whether it would not anſwer as well to the Publick to preſerve them. It is not impoſſible, that twenty or thirty thouſand Pounds a Year (one would rather over than underdo the Thing) may by this Means be kept at home; but for the Conſequences of ſuch a Saving who will take upon him to anſwer? It is not ſaying, that no Orders were given to the People to withdraw, that no Agreement was made with any Power to relinquiſh ſuch Places, but that amongſt other Methods taken for keeping the publick Expences within Bounds, amongſt other Reductions one was made here. This moſt certainly will be but a very lame Apology for ſuch a Piece of Conduct; for if you uncover and take away

away Protection from a Colony, eſpecially if that Colony be upon the Frontiers, there is no need of bidding the People withdraw, they will do that of themſelves; for how little ſoever their Intereſt may be underſtood in *Europe*, the *Britiſh* Subjects in *America* know it too well to truſt ſuch Neighbours, as Enemies alike in time of War and Peace, and who never failed to lay hold of any Opportunity of preventing other People from reaping the Benefit of Countries, which never were or will be of any Uſe to them. Withdrawing Protection in ſuch Caſes, is a Signal ſufficient to the People, as well as the Soldiers; and the former, however unwilling, will nevertheleſs deſert their Plantations, as ſoon as the latter retire from their Poſts.

It is not ſo long ago ſince the War broke out, that we ſhould forget the Cauſes of it; and it would be a very ſtrange Thing to maintain a War at ſo large an Expence of Men and Money, and for ſo many Years together, and at the End of it relinquiſh any thing which our Enemies in the Courſe of it could never obtain by Force. It was thought expedient, before that War begun, to cover the Southern Frontier, as by much

the weakeſt we have; and for the very ſame Reaſon, it ought to be held expedient to cover it ſtill. It will be no ſatisfactory Anſwer to ſay, that all our Frontiers are covered by the Peace, becauſe it is well known, that nothing has been ſtipulated for their Security by the Peace. If indeed we ſhould give Credit to what foreign Gazettes tell us from *Madrid*, that upon the Arrival of our Ambaſſador there, Conferences will be opened for ſettling all Matters in *America*, it would furniſh us with a direct and concluſive Argument, that nothing ſhould be done to weaken our Poſſeſſions in that Part of the World, until theſe Conferences being over, we knew how far our Safety might be increaſed from the Reſult of them. It is very well known, that King *Charles* the Firſt granted to Sir *Robert Heath* that very Country of which the *French* are at preſent poſſeſſed, and that this Grant was confirmed by King *William*, as well as by his Predeceſſors, when we were in full Peace with *Spain*; and it is alſo very well known, that notwithſtanding this, the *Spaniards* have all along kept up a Claim, and but a little before this War directly inſiſted upon their Right, not barely to our Frontier Province, but to thoſe long ago

ago ſettled alſo. In ſuch a precarious Situation, it muſt be very imprudent to truſt to a bare Poſſeſſion, without being in a Condition to maintain that Poſſeſſion; nor can we ever hope that our Plantations in thoſe Parts ſhould flouriſh, if we either refuſe or repine at the trifling Expence that the due Protection of them requires. Such a Conduct as this, inſtead of manifeſting Oeconomy, is the direct Proof of the Want of it. For to loſe great Advantages, for want of laying out ſuch ſmall Sums as are requiſite to ſecure them, is the Frugality of a Miſer, who loſes the Uſe of his Horſes, rather than pay for Hay and Oats to keep them. Such a Proceeding is unworthy of a great Nation; we ſhould either reſolve to part with Places, or determine to protect them; to do neither, entails upon us an Expence that is to no purpoſe, and, what is worſe, at the ſame time does us no Credit.

One Thing indeed is certain, that if we withdraw our Protection, and our Subjects ſhould, as they undoubtedly will, withdraw upon it, we ſhall have either the *French* or *Spaniards*, or probably both, take poſſeſſion of what we leave; and then we muſt either abandon our next Frontier, or be at a greater Expence for

for the Defence of that, than would keep the Frontier that we now have. The Truth of the Matter is, (for why ſhould not the Truth be told) the real Intereſt of *Great Britain* is to maintain a conſiderable Force in theſe Parts; and tho' this may be attended with a conſiderable Expence, yet that would be much more than ballanced by the Conſequences that muſt follow from it. It has been ſaid, and it is fit that it ſhould be ſaid again, that even a ſmall Expence, if it be to no purpoſe, is Folly and Profuſion; but a large Expence that procures Advantages far ſuperior to it, is in reality a Saving, and no Expence at all. We may eaſily conceive this, if we conſider, that our Southern Colonies are full of Negroes, by whoſe Labour the white Inhabitants are ſupported, and very large Returns are made to *Great Britain.* But tho' Slaves are beneficial to their Maſters, and their Maſters lay out all that accrues to them for their Labour with us here in *England*, yet theſe Slaves are not to be depended upon for Defence. Nor will any Man in his Senſes expect, that Countries in this Condition ſhould be able to defend themſelves without Aſſiſtance, or that there is any Thing unreaſonable in their

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expecting this Aſſiſtance from that Nation upon which they depend, and to which they belong. Neither is the Aſſiſtance that we give them, if duely weighed, any Hardſhip upon this Nation; for every Man of the Troops kept there, does not coſt above one Third of what is earned by a Planter; now as we have all that the Planter earns, two thirds of the Expence is ſaved by defending them, that it would actually coſt this Nation if they were able and ſhould defend themſelves. Beſides, by affording this neceſſary Protection, and keeping up a reaſonable Force in the Frontier Colony, we preſerve the Dependence of theſe rich Southern Countries effectually, as we may always ſecure the Dependence of the Northern Colonies, by taking off their Timber, Naval Stores, and other Commodities, for which we muſt otherwiſe pay ready Money to Strangers; ſo that the Dreams ſome People have, or affect to have, of our Colonies thirſting after Independency, will remain Dreams, unleſs we follow the Advice of theſe Dreamers, and by throwing off all Regard for our Subjects abroad, force them to forget their Duty to the Government at Home; a Caſe that, while common Senſe remains either in

Europe

Europe or in *America*, can never happen: As there are many unforeſeen Inconveniencies attend a wrong Meaſure, ſo it is a very difficult Matter to enumerate all the Advantages that may ariſe from a right one; yet without aiming at the Character of a great Politician, one may aſſign ſeveral others that would ariſe, from keeping conſtantly a regular Force on the Southern as well as Northern Frontier. For inſtance, it gives Weight and Credit to the *Britiſh* Nation, preſerves the Friendſhip of the *Indians*, which is a Point of very great Conſequence, and which, as the *French* and *Spaniards* are ready to purchaſe at a high Rate, we ought to ſet a reaſonable Value on alſo, as having learned by Experience the Benefits reſulting from it. It eſtabliſhes a juſt Senſe of Security in the Planters, gives them Courage and Spirit to purſue their Labours, and to think of turning them to what might promote the future Proſperity of the Colony, rather than ſacrifice that to their immediate Advantage, which, while they have any Fears, Suſpicions, or Doubts, they will always do. It affords the ſtrongeſt Invitation for others to come and ſettle there likewiſe; for where there is no want of Room, a moral Certainty of thriving,

thriving, and a clear Aſſurance of perpetual Protection, there will never want People. The Succeſs of thoſe already ſettled, will excite others to aim at having a Share in their Proſperity; and in Proportion as this ſpreads and extends itſelf, the Reputation of the riſing Colony will continue to attract Inhabitants, as the increaſe of Inhabitants will alſo heighten their Advantages; and whatever contributes to make a Plantation thrive, muſt enrich the Mother-Country. While ſhe ſtarves her Children, ſhe muſt ſtarve for them, (for there is nothing to be had from Beggars) but providing for their Subſiſtence, they muſt maintain her, becauſe her Wealth ariſes from the means of their Subſiſtence. I will add but one Thing more; if we are ſick of *American* Wars, and of the enormous Expence that attends them, this is the Way to render the Peace perpetual; for while we have a conſiderable Number of regular Troops in our Frontier Colony, there is no Danger of ſeeing that Peace diſturbed. It was the want of ſuch a Force that encouraged the Violences that brought on the laſt War, and if we had had but a reaſonable Number of well-

ſeaſoned Troops in thoſe Parts, our Expeditions had ended otherwiſe than they did. On the whole therefore it will appear, that true Oeconomy conſiſts in providing againſt and keeping off Dangers, and that immenſe Charge that is brought upon us by Wars, which, for want of a few reaſonable Precautions, we generally ſpeaking bring upon ourſelves.

Whatever ſome People may think, theſe are no new Doctrines, but the very ſame that have been preached up by all who were well acquainted with theſe Matters for half a Century paſt. Look into the State Tracts, from the Reign of King *Charles* II. to this Time, and you will find the ſame Arguments urged, the ſame Reaſons inſiſted upon, and the ſame Backwardneſs and Miſapprehenſion expoſed. If we have been ſo often taught, and ſo long a learning, is it not at leaſt high Time that we ſhould learn now? Have we not had the Examples of other Nations before our Eyes in this Reſpect? and have we ever ſeen any Settlements flouriſh, that were not ſupported? On the other hand, have we not ſeen Colonies riſe and flouriſh, and become dangerous Rivals, even to our Sugar Iſlands, merely by

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Dint of the Support afforded them from their Mother Countries? Have we not alſo ſeen great and flouriſhing Plantations ſink and dwindle to nothing, for want of a little Support? Is not this preciſely the Caſe of the two Nations ſettled upon the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola?* one aſſiſted, cheriſh'd, and defended, and, in Conſequence of that, rich and powerful, ſending home annually large Fleets with Cargoes of prodigious Value; the other ſlighted, neglected, and left to ſhift for herſelf, and from thence declining low and poor. What reaſon therefore is there to countenance the Hopes of deriving Advantages from unprotected Colonies, of fancying that we are to receive Riches from Countries, where the People have no Chance of ſubſiſting in quiet? Theſe are plain, perſpicuous, and conſiſtent Doctrines, not taken up to ſerve a Turn, or to advance any private or particular Intereſt, not even that of the Colonies, farther than as their Intereſts become finally the Intereſts of *Great-Britain*, and which therefore it is the Duty of every unbiaſſed and unprejudiced *Britiſh* Subject to eſpouſe. This being the Caſe, it is hoped, that ſuch as profeſs them-

ſelves concerned to rectify paſt Miſtakes, and to put all things upon a proper Foot for the future, will conſider theſe Matters ſeriouſly, and with the Attention they deſerve. If Leiſure cannot be ſpared for this at preſent, at leaſt let no precipitate Meaſures to be taken; for tho' we may at any Time abandon, we cannot at all Times acquire.

If the Reaſon ſhould be aſked, Why there are any who do not ſee Things in this Light, if in reality they are ſo very plain, it may be very eaſily given. The Light of Men's Eyes differ not more than the Light of their Minds; and therefore it is no Wonder at all, that ſome are near-ſighted, and ſome are ſhort-ſighted; nor is it at all ſtrange in an Age like this, when almoſt every thing is governed by Faſhion, that there ſhould be amongſt us ſome who affect to be ſhort-ſighted. Theſe People keep their Eyes fixed upon the Sums that go out for the Service of the Colonies; and becauſe they ſee this Money immediately paid, and do not as immediately ſee how it returns, they believe, or pretend to believe, that it is loſt, and treat thoſe who aſſert the contrary, as mere Speculatiſts or Enthuſiaſts. But if we reflect,

reflect, that it is a Thing notoriously known to all, who are acquainted with the Nature of *British* Commerce, that, exclusive of the other Advantages derived to us from our Colonies, we actually receive from them to the Amount of upwards of three Millions a Year, it will not appear at all strange or unreasonable, that we should take a little Pains, and even be at some Expence too, for their Preservation. Besides, it is not the Nation only that is a Gainer, but, which ought also to have its Weight, the publick Revenue. Most of these Goods are charged with considerable Customs, and some of them pay likewise a heavy Excise. Why don't we keep our Eyes a little upon that, since we may judge from thence of the Value of these Countries, and of the large Amends they make us for that Proportion of Trouble that we are pleased to bestow about them. We might likewise look round, and consider the many great and rich Families settled and established in this Island, whose Ancestors acquired their Fortunes in *America*; and this would shew us two Things, first, that very large Fortunes are acquired there, and next, that when so acquired they are laid out here. Now I conceive, that let a Man come from what

what Country he will, if he brings with him Money enough to purchaſe a large Eſtate, this Nation is a Gainer by him, juſt as much as that Purchaſe amounts to; for the Land was here before, remains here ſtill, and the Money that purchaſes it into the Bargain.

But, ſay ſome, if theſe Countries produce ſuch mighty Advantages, and are ſo exceedingly rich, why do they not ſupport themſelves? what Occaſion is there for being at any Expence at all about them? Yet at other times theſe People anſwer themſelves, by expreſſing their Fears, that ſome Time or other the Colonies will become independent; without conſidering, that to oblige them to provide for themſelves, is to make them independent. As their Mother-Country, we have the Tutelage of them, we provide them with Neceſſaries, we ſupply them with Conveniencies, we aſſiſt them with what they want, we protect them when in Danger, we ſend Perſons to govern them; but then, on the other ſide, we take all they have, we apply it to our own Uſe, and we make a very large Profit by that Application. This being the true State of the Caſe, there cannot be any thing more ridiculous, as well as more unkind, than to be treating

ing theſe People at every turn as if they were Strangers and Foreigners. At this Rate we may form the ſame Notion, and indeed the Vulgar do, of the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*; but is not this ſilly and weak? is it not narrow, and unworthy of a civilized People? Did ever Notions of this kind prevail among the great Nations of Antiquity? or did they ever conſider their Citizens as falling from that Character, by living for the publick Service at a Diſtance? If not, why ſhould we? Sometimes we have the Vanity to compare ourſelves to the *Greeks* and *Romans*; let us reſemble them in their Virtues, and it will be no longer a Vanity: Let us conceive the Bounds of *Britain* to extend where-ever her Laws are obeyed, where-ever Men are made free and happy by living under our excellent Conſtitution; this will purge out theſe little, mean, and deſpicable Notions, and we ſhall then have a right Idea of the Welfare of the *Britiſh* Nation, which conſiſts in the well-being of every Individual, who pays a juſt Obedience to its Government.

The ſetting up a Preference amongſt the Colonies, is a Species of that Narrowneſs of Spirit which ought to be exploded. All we have in *America* is alike our own,

own, and every Part of it ought to be alike our Care. Two Men of War have lately brought us five hundred thouſand Pounds in hard Silver from *Jamaica*; ſhall we thence conclude that Iſland alone deſerves our Care? Our Care ſhe certainly deſerves, but in the ſame Proportion with the reſt of our Plantations; ſome yield us more, ſome leſs, but every Colony yeilds us all it can; and therefore, ſtrictly ſpeaking, all yield alike. Some yield more in War than in Peace, others more in Peace than in War; but what then? we muſt take Care of them all, and at all Times, becauſe they all depend upon each other. Our Sugar Colonies could hardly ſubſiſt, without the Aſſiſtance of thoſe upon the Continent; and thoſe upon the Continent thrive and grow rich by their Commerce with the Sugar Iſlands; but it is *Great Britain* that reaps the Benefit of both, all their Gains center here. Neither ought we to grudge them that Opulence in which, in ſome of the Plantations, they are thought to live; for as they cannot be frugal without our reaping the Advantage of it, ſo it is impoſſible for them to be extravagant, but we muſt be the better for it. Whether they keep or throw away, tho' it is not alike

alike to them, yet it is the very ſame Thing to us. If they lay up Money, they come here and purchaſe Land; if not, they come here and throw away that Money. It muſt certainly therefore be our great Intereſt to preſerve them in ſuch a Situation, as that they may be able to acquire Wealth, whether they hoard, or whether they diſſipate it. We do them a Kindneſs indeed in doing this, but at the Bottom we do it for our own Sakes; or at leaſt this appears to be the Caſe, when we expreſs an Unwillingneſs in what we do, and either from a Spirit of Ignorance or Ill-humour, are pleaſed to miſtake for a Burthen, the greateſt Bleſſing that Heaven has beſtowed upon us; that Bleſſing, which in the Space of a Couple of Centuries has multiplied our People, augmented our Wealth, and increaſed our Power almoſt beyond the Reach of Calculation. As this is the general Reſult of our Plantations in *America*, ſo thoſe Plantations in general ought to be the Object of our Concern, and we ſhould labour as much as poſſible to prevent any Jealouſies or Uneaſineſſes from prevailing amongſt them, or amongſt us, by infuſing upon all Occaſions the ſalutary Doc-

trine of there being but one Intereſt common to all, and that the Intereſt of the *Britiſh* Nation. This thoroughly inculcated, would have great and glorious Effects; and we ſhould ſee no Eagerneſs or Emulation, but what proceeded from this Principle. We ſhould not fancy, that ſaving what is neceſſary for the Defence of any Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions is Oeconomy, but we ſhould look upon it as extravagant to part with our Wealth for any other Purpoſe. Frugality and Profuſion are relative Things, and may eaſily change Places.

It may be objected, that ſome of our Colonies produce very little, and yet theſe Colonies require a great Expence. Now methinks, a diſcreet Man would ſee nothing ſtrange in what is ſo very natural. There is not any Colony we have but what was heretofore in the ſame Condition. Name the Colony that has coſt us Money for twenty Years paſt, and is not able to ſubſiſt yet; and it will be eaſy to name another that coſt us Money for forty Years together, that broke Company after Company, and did well at laſt, which it might have done ſooner, if thoſe Companies could have done more at once; for the

the Fault lay not in what was ſpent, but in the ſpending it by little and little. If you feed Chickens by a Grain at a Time, they will never be fat; give them their Corn by the Handful, and you'll find your Account in it. There is no Country in *America*, with which we have any thing to do, but what is capable of Improvements, capable of all that has been ſaid of or promiſed for it. If therefore it does not anſwer our Expectation, it is our own Fault; the People want Encouragement or Protection, or the Country wants People. We have it in our Power to ſupply either, or both theſe Deficiencies, and we ought to ſupply them, becauſe it is our Intereſt. Is there a Colony that does not anſwer, or is a Burthen to us? Have done with it. I don't mean abandon or deſert it, but take Care to be well apprized of its Condition, learn what is the true State of its Inhabitants, and wherein their Wants conſiſt, that you may remove them. If the Fault lies not there, and the Colony is thinly peopled, take away that Defect. We complain of People here that are burthenſome, ſend them thither; and what was a Burthen at home, will be a

Bleſſing abroad. But ſend them in Time, don't let them run the Gantlet through all the Goals in the Kingdom, and then ſend them thither when they are good for nothing, as Tranſports. Poverty is a Misfortune, but no Crime, or at leaſt no Crime in the Poor, whatever it may be in the Governors; for true Policy conſiſts in finding Employment for all People, and the Toleration of Idleneſs is an Error in Government. It is a Species of Profuſion to beſtow Alms upon able Men, but it is great Frugality to lay out twice what you would give them in Charity, to put them in a Way of ſubſiſting themſelves. The one is a temporary Relief to neceſſitous Perſons, the other a real and perpetual Relief to the Body Politick. Be aſhamed then of an Expedient that reflects Diſcredit upon them and you, and never think any Sum of Money thrown away, in putting your Countrymen in a Condition to live like Freemen, which is their Birth-right. Theſe look like wild and extravagant Notions, only to wild and extravagant Men; who, becauſe they do not happen to feel Want themſelves, have no Bowels for them that do; tho' perhaps their Neceſſities are owing to their

their ſpending their Health and Strength, in protecting from Neceſſity thoſe who deſpiſe them.

Thus we return to where we ſet out, and after making the Tour of the whole *Britiſh* Dominions, we find that to conſult the Benefit of the Nation, we muſt have our Eyes upon every Part of it, into whatever Countries or Climates it may be diſperſed. We muſt conſider all Ranks and Degrees of People, and believe that no Eaſe can be given to one Part by oppreſſing another. We muſt be content, if we will do what is right, to aim at the Good of the whole; and as this requires much Caution and great Deliberation, we muſt proceed ſlowly and ſurely, in order to effect it; we muſt be tender of throwing our Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects into ſuch a State of Diſtreſs, as may make them dangerous to others, as well as deſperate themſelves; we muſt take the ſpeedieſt and the ſafeſt Methods for preventing theſe Evils, by providing for them, as far as that is poſſible, the Means of Subſiſtence, of which the Inhabitants of a neighbouring Iſland (a valuable Part of his Majeſty's Dominions) have ſet us a wiſe and laudable Example; we

we muſt make uſe of the Quiet which the Peace has procured us, to find out the moſt effectual Methods for employing and encouraging Induſtry, and thereby augmenting our national Income, ſo as that Plenty and Proſperity may be univerſally diffuſed; we muſt be cautious of truſting too early, or too entirely, to a Reconciliation ſo lately made; we muſt remember, that the beſt way to preſerve Peace is to be provided for War, and not ſuffer ourſelves to ſink into ſuch a State, as may expoſe us to have other Terms preſcribed than thoſe we have ſtipulated; we muſt call to mind the Cauſes of the laſt War, which will ſufficiently ſhew us the Neceſſity of procuring ſome way or other their total Extirpation; for it is not the Name of a Treaty that takes away Debates, or ſilences Diſputes; this can be only done by removing the Grounds of them. This, indeed, may not lie entirely in our Power; but thus much will be always within its Compaſs, that we provide for our own Security, and leave no Part of our Dominions open to Inſults or Incroachments. We have, for the Sake of our Allies, reſtored our Conqueſts,

Conqueſts, and withal have reſpited the Terror of our naval Armaments; this was all that could be expected from us, and this being done, we have fulfilled our Engagements; as for Works of Supererogation, or Acts of Complaiſance, they can ſerve only to weaken ourſelves, and to raiſe up new Demands from thoſe whom we ſhall never oblige by any ſuch Methods.

F I N I S.